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THE CARAJÁ[1]

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TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term *"Carajá"* is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceicão. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

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reception uncommonly difficult. It is certain that this language
●197 is related to no other Brazilian language known up to now, although odd word-similarities with Gēs dialects do occur.

198 Its noteworthy peculiarity is the existence of separate men's and women's languages, as is found in like manner among the Guaicuru and Chiquitanos. Only a few words, however, are completely different; for most of them the form is merely modified unimportantly. For instance, where two vowels come one after the other in the men's dialect, a k comes between the two in the women's dialect. Thus:

rain ♂ biū, ♀ bikū, maize ♂ mahī, ♀ makī.

At times the women's word merely has one more syllable at the end, etc. Probably the women have merely retained an older
104 form of the language. The native words printed in italics in the text are accented on the final syllable where something different is not expressly noted.

External Appearance, Clothing, Adornment.

142 According to their physical appearance, the Karaya represent one of the handsomer types among the tribes of Brazil. They are not particularly robust in stature, but rather are medium-sized and gracile; however, the slender body, the regularity of their limbs, the proud mien make them seem bigger than they really are. Their
[526] impressive muscular power, the elasticity and agility of their movements come to the fore especially in boxing matches, their
[482] most popular sport. The neck musculature is very strongly developed, as among all Indians, which makes them capable of carrying enormous loads with a forehead-tumpline.

[141] The form of the skull is consistently hypsidolichocephalic, without especially prominent prognathism. The absence of eyebrow ridges make the face somewhat open. The eyelid, horizontal or slightly slanted, is remarkably small, but nevertheless does not lend the face a really Mongoloid appearance, because of the always very prominently projecting nose. The nose itself starts very far down.

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192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[114] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

● 197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

192 From the beginning I followed up the differences between
126 the men's dialect and the women's dialect, which Ehrenreich (1)
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[113] 1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibinálí = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
194 far not confirmed this assertion. The chief difference is that in
562 the women's language a k is inserted where, among the men two vowels stand next to each other; the initial k of the women is omitted among the men. Ehrenreich gives a few further

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535 but tumed toward each other, and sang a verse with gourd-rattle accompaniment. They then danced forward together toward the village and back again. This was repeated several times. The
533 dance ended with lively bows at the village. At night the young men sat in front of the mask hut and sang dance songs with the
[184] rattle accompaniment. These songs, too, were very similar to
532 those of the Karajá. The Šavajé did not permit photographing
535 the masks on the next day, so I was obliged to resort to sketching.
126 The masks were cylinder masks with a feather-mosaic covering. Black-dyed leaf-aprons for hips and shoulders served as body coverings.

In Schischá I acquired copies of masks, and, to be sure, of the ĭdjālhēnĭ mask, the ămbŭšāwādiă mask, and the lădēnĭ mask. Of these, ĭdjālhēnĭ seems to be a typical Šavajé mask, for the songs of this mask which I was able to record phonographically among the Karajá were always designated by the latter as Šavajé
[533] songs. Of other Šavajé songs I obtained phonographically dĕsóĭ dĕsóĭ, a song that they sing after slaying a jaguar.

For further data on the masks of the Šavajé, see my article,
[113] "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya /Dance Mask Reproductions from the Middle Araguaia/," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910.

197 Their language, according to my data, seems to be identical with that of the Karajá. It does contain some completely different words; see tapir, gavião, maize, red and black neck tassels, lower-arm ornament of two pads with fringe hangings, calf ornament with tassels, leaf pipe; caracara is divergent.

A comparison shows that the south horde of the Karajá is linguistically somewhat closer to the Šavajé than the north horde, undoubtedly a result of the migrations of the Šavajé to the south horde. /Section III, "Die Kayapó (The Cayapo)," pp. 368-402, with Plates 62-68 and Ills. 209-261, is omitted in the translation./

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center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwáă; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (ĩwŭrá, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 339]